Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9244
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

CONFIDENTIAL JERUSALEM 1137

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, XF, IS, US, JO

SUBJECT: THE WEST BANK ON THE EVE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT

1. SUMMARY: EARLIER WEST BANK EUPHORIA OVER PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN DEFLATED BY BEGIN'S UN-COMPROMISING STANDS IN WASHINGTON ON WEST BANK, NO PALESTINIAN STATE AND NO PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA. PLUS PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD BE LINKED TO JORDAN. BEGIN'S ACTION LEGALIZING THREE WB SETTLEMENTS ALSO STRONGLY CRITICIZED. WEST BANK LEADERS ATTEMPTING TO DRAFT POLICY DECLARATION FOR SECRETARY WHICH REPORTEDLY (A) REITERATES PLO REPRESENTS PALESTINIANS; (B) CALLS FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENEVA; (C) INSISTS ON RETURN TO PRE-JUNE 5, 1967 BORDERS WITH (IMPLIED) RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. DESPITE RECRUDESCENCE OF PESSIMISTIC STRAIN, WEST BANKERS STILL HOPING PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY WILL BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT RECONVENED GENEVA CONFIDENTIAL.

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CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN LAST THREE DAYS, I HAVE TALKED TO REPRESENT-ATIVE SPECTRUM OF WEST BANK MAYORS RANGING FROM HEBRON IN THE SOUTH THROUGH BETHLEHEM AND RAMALLAH IN THE CENTER TO NABLUS IN THE NORTH. THE EARLIER EUPHORIA THAT WE REPORTED (JERUSALEM 856) HAS EVAPORATED AS RESULT OF WEST BANK PERCEPTION THAT BEGIN IN WASHINGTON DID NOT CHANGE HIS HARDLINE VIEWS ON ANY OF ISSUES NEAREST TO PALESTINIANS (E.G. WEST BANK, NO INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, NO PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA). WEST BANKERS ALSO UNHAPPY OVER PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENT BUT SHOULD BE LINKED TO JORDAN.

- 3. MAYOR QAWASIMA OF HEBRON WAS STILL OPTIMISTIC. HE BELIEVED PRESIDENT'S DESCRIPTION OF BEGIN'S POSITION AS "FORTHCOMING" MIGHT REFLECT PRIVATE ASSURANCES HE RECEIVED FROM BEGIN PERSONALLY. (HE WAS ALSO BUOYED BY ERRONEOUS PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING CARTER-BEGIN AGREEMENT ON MORATORIUM ON SETTLEMENTS WHICH HE SAW AS EVIDENCE BEGIN SINCERE IN SEARCH FOR PEACE.)
- 4. QAWASIMA STRESSED NECESSITY FOR PALESTINIANS
 TO BE PRESENT AT GENEVA. IF NOT, PALESTINIANS,
 WOULD REJECT THE VERY OUTCOME THAT THEY WOULD HAVE
 ACCEPTED HAD THEY BEEN A PARTY TO ITS FORMULATION.
 HE RAISED POSSIBILITY OF PLO DELEGATING RESPONSIBILITY
 FOR REPRESENTING PALESTINIANS TO CERTAIN WEST BANK
 MAYORS. SEVERAL MAYORS (SELECTED BY THE PLO) COULD
 THEN PARTICIPATE AS MEMBERS OF A UNITED ARAB
 DELEGATION. RABIN GOVERNMENT, HE NOTED, HAD ACCEPTED
 IDEA WB LEADERS COULD REPRESENT PALESTINIANS'
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INTERESTS. HOWEVER, CONGEN OBSERVED, RABIN GOVERNMENT PREPARED HAVE WEST BANKERS PARTICIPATE AS MEMBERS OF JORDANIAN DELEGATION. THIS WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE, THE MAYOR SAID. CONGEN DOUBTED PLO, AFTER RABAT AND UN DECISIONS, COULD AGREE DEPUTIZE WB MAYORS. IN THAT CASE, QAWASIMA THOUGHT ARAB STATES AT MEPC COULD SETTLE ISSUES SUCH AS BORDERS AND PEACE, AND PALESTINIANS COULD BE BROUGHT IN AT LATER STAGE WHEN PRESSURES FROM ARAB STATES TO ADOPT MODERATE POSITIONS WOULD BE GREAT.

- 5. MAYOR GAVE USUAL WEST BANK PITCH ON NECESSITY FOR INDEPENDENT PALESTINE PRIOR TO ESTABLISHMENT OF LINKS WITH JORDAN. QAWASIMA STRONGLY SUPPORTED IDEA OF INTERIM REGIME (ARAB LEAGUE OR UN) AFTER ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. AS FOR HUSSEIN'S SUGGESTION FOR A REFERENDUM, THIS DEPENDED ON WHAT QUESTION OR QUESTIONS WERE ASKED.
- 6. ON PEACE, QAWASIMA WAS MOST FORTHCOMING.
 RESTITUTION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS TO PALESTINIANS
 WOULD NOT ONLY PERMIT COEXISTENCE BETWEEN ISRAEL

AND PALESTINIAN HOMELAND BUT BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS IN HEBRON.

7. MAYOR FREIJ OF BETHLEHEM WAS UNCHARACTERISTICALLY GLOOMY. HE THOUGHT BEGIN IN WASHINGTON HAD FORECLOSED POSSIBILITY OF DIPLOMATIC PROGRESS. FREIJ CONFIRMED MAYORS WORKING ON POLICY STATEMENTS ALONG LINES SUMMARIZED ABOVE WHICH THEY HOPE TO HAVE READY BEFORE AUGUST 7. PLO, HE SAID, WAS ONLY CREDIBLE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIANS. WEST BANKERS ARE TOO WEAK TO PERFORM THIS FUNCTION, HE SAID. MAYOR REVEALED HE HAVING TROUBLE WITH MILGOV OVER SOME OF HIS RECENT STATEMENTS.

8. "RADICIAL RAMALLAH" LIVED UP TO ITS REPUTATION WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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MAYOR KHALAF AND DEPUTY MAYOR RANTISI DELIVERING BITTER CRITIQUES OF US POLICY AS ANTI-PALESTINIAN AND 100 PERCENT PRO-ISRAEL. AFTER UNBURDENING THEMSELVES, KHALAF CLUNG TO HOPE US IN ITS OWN SELF INTEREST WOULD FORCE ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW. HOWEVER, KHALAF STRESSED PALESTINIANS PREPARED TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL WITHIN 1967 BORDERS. CONGEN SOUGHT REPEATEDLY TO SET RECORD STRAIGHT BUT FRANKLY DOUBTS KHALAF AND CO. WERE REALLY LISTENING. RAMALLAH MUNICIPAL COUNCIL EXPERIENCING GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH MILGOV, KHALAF AND RANTISI COMPLAINED.

9. NABLUS MAYOR SHAKA' WAS PESSIMISTIC. HE MADE SAME POINTS AS QAWASIMA AND FREIJ. PLO AND ONLY THE PLO, COULD SPEAK FOR PALESTINIANS, HE STRESSED. PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS ON LINK WITH JORDAN AMOUNTED TO BEHIND-THE-SCENES CARTER-HUSSEIN-BEGIN DEAL AT PALESTINIANS EXPENSE. BEGIN'S ACTION TO LEGALIZE WB SETTLEMENTS MEANT EITHER CARTER AND BEGIN TACITLY AGREED ON THIS STEP OR AMERICANS TRULY DISAPPOINTED BUT BEGIN FELT STRONG ENOUGHT TO DEFY THEM. SHAKA' NOTED WITH IRONY SECRETARY NOT PLANNING TO MEET WITH ARAFAT ON HIS TRIP. US CONCEDED PALESTINIANS WERE THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM YET REFUSED TO TALK TO THE PALESTINIANS WHO WERE ONLY ONES QUALIFIED TO DECIDE THEIR FUTURE. WHEN CONGEN GAVE HIS VIEW PRESIDENT HAD NOT ALTERED HIS POSITION ON FUNDAMENTALS, SHAKA' SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO THINK THIS WAS SO.

10. SHAKA' WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH DIFFICULTIES HE EXPERIENCING WITH MILGOV OVER ELECTRICITY GENERATING CAPACITY.

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